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# Contact-induced patterns in direct object marking in Dolgan

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## EVN-like forms in YKT and DLG

	EVN	DLG	YKT	ALT
Partitive		PART/ACCIN		no
Nominal negation		N-PART NEG		N-NOM NEG
Imperative		1PL(EXCL), 1PL(INCL)		1PL
Personal converbs		CVB.SIM CVB.ANT CVB.SEQ CVB.PURP		CVB.BND

# Disruption of EVN-like paradigm in YKT

	EVN mə:nɟi-	DLG gīen-	YKT kīen-
1SG	PersPN REFL.PS-1SG		no
2SG	PersPN REFL.PS-2SG		no
3SG	PersPN REFL.PS-3SG		
1PL	PersPN REFL.PS-1PL		no
2PL	PersPN REFL.PS-2PL		no
3PL	PersPN REFL.PS-3PL		

## EVN-like possessive in DLG

	EVN	DLG	YKT
1SG		PsPN stem-1SG	PersPN stem-1SG
2SG		PsPN stem-2SG	PersPN stem-2SG
3SG		PsPN stem-3SG	PersPN stem-3SG
1PL		PsPN stem-1PL	PersPN stem-1PL
2PL		PsPN stem-2PL	PersPN stem-2PL
3PL		PsPN stem-3PL	PersPN stem-3PL

## EVN-like comitative in YKT

	DLG	EVN	YKT
Associative plural construction	X-ACC 'with' Y	X Y-COM	
Cumulative construction	X FOC Y FOC	X-COM Y-COM	
Personal declension	N-COM	N-PS-COM	
Personal pronouns	PN-ACC 'with'	PN-COM	

# Direct object marking inventory

	EVN	DLG	YKT
ACC			
ACC.PS			
ACC.RFL.PS			
PART			
PART.PS			
PART.RFL.PS			
NOM			
NOM.PS			

# Marking of definite DO

ACC	(1)	ullə- <b>wə</b> meat- <b>ACC</b>	gənnə:-d'ə-m pick.up-FUTCNT-1SG	EVN
		et- <b>i</b> meat- <b>ACC</b>	il- <b>i</b> -m take-FUT-1SG	DLG, YKT
		I will pick up <b>this</b> meat		



# Marking of definite DO with PS endings

ACC.PS	(2)	ullə- <b>wə-w</b> meat- <b>ACC-PS1SG</b>	d'əw-d'ə-rə-ø eat-AOR- <b>3PL</b>	EVN
		et- <b>pin</b> meat- <b>ACC.PS1SG</b>	h-i:l-ler / s-i:l-ler eat-PRS- <b>3PL</b>	DLG, YKT
		<b>They</b> eat <b>my</b> meat		
RFL.PS	(3)	uldə- <b>ŋi-l-bi</b> meat- <b>IND.PS-PL-ACC.RFL.PS</b>	d'əw-d'ə-ø-m eat-IPFV-AOR- <b>1SG</b>	EVN
ACC.PS		et- <b>pin</b> meat- <b>ACC.PS1SG</b>	h-i:-bin / s-i:-bin eat-PRS- <b>1SG</b>	DLG, YKT
		<b>I</b> eat <b>my</b> meat		

# Marking of indefinite DO

PART	(4)	uldə-jə et- <b>te</b> meat- <b>ACCIN/PART</b>	iri-kəl buhar cook-IMP2SG	EVN DLG, YKT
		Cook <b>some</b> meat!		
NOM	(5)	et meat. <b>NOM</b>	katar- <b>a:čči</b> -bit / hatar- <b>a:čči</b> -bit dry-HAB-1PL	DLG, YKT
		We <b>usually</b> dry meat		

# Marking of indefinite DO with PS endings

PART-PS	(6)	uldə- <b>jə-w</b> meat- <b>ACCIN/PART-PS1SF</b>	hilat-kəl skewer-IMP2SG	EVN
		Skewer meat <b>for me</b>		
PART-PS.RFL	(7)	hawa- <b>ja-wi</b> work- <b>ACCIN/PART-PS.RFL</b>	gələktə-d'ə- <b>wkī</b> seek-IPFV- <b>PHAB</b>	EVN
		He is <b>constantly</b> looking for a job		

## Baseline on the use of partitive

	Evenki	Dolgan	Yakut	Tofa
Baker & Vinokurova 2021			IMP	
Seržant 2021		FUT, IMP	IMP	IMP
Däbritz 2022		FUT, IMP, NEC		
Kazama 2012	FUT, IMP			

## Object level semantics in EVN

(8) bəjŋo:-jə                      əmə-wu-fki:  
beast-**ACCIN/PART**      go-TR-**PHAB**

He **always** brings prey

(9) hokto-jə                      gələ:ktə-no:-sinə-∅-m  
road-**ACCIN/PART**              seek-PRGRN-INCEP-**AOR-1SG**

I went to look for a way

(10) bulta:-l-a                      iśə-mi                      gogo-l-d'ŋo:-s  
beast-PL-**ACCIN/PART**      see-**CV.COND**              bark-INCH-FUT-2SG

If you see beasts, you will bark

# The use of partitive

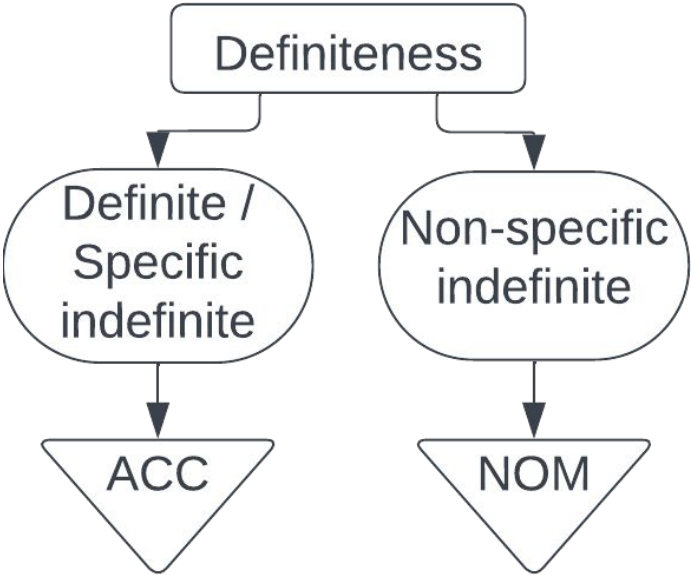
## Clause level semantics in DLG and YKT

	DLG	YKT
Past indicative	Binary	Binary
Present indicative	Binary	Binary
Habitualis	Binary	Binary
Future indicative	Ternary	Binary
Hortative	Ternary	Ternary
Imperative	Ternary	Ternary
Yussive	Ternary	Ternary
Distant imperative	Ternary	Ternary

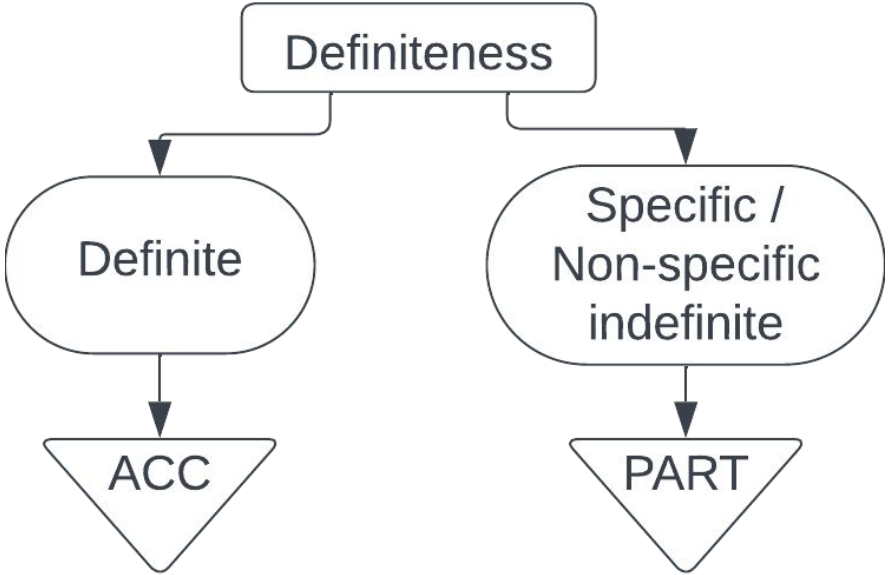
	DLG	YKT
Conditional	Ternary	Binary
Counterfactual	Binary	Binary
Necessitative	Ternary	Binary
Capacitive	Ternary	Binary
Desiderative	Ternary	Binary
Prohibitive	Binary	Binary
Potential-Admontive	Binary	Ternary

# Binary DOM strategies

## DLG, YKT



## EVN



# Binary DOM strategy in DLG, YKT and EVN

## Definite

[Context: “I found a good house to rent.”]

(11) dīē-**ni**      ularis-ti-m      /      kûōrtamna:-ti-m”      DLG, YKT  
house-**ACC**      lend-PST-1SG      /      rent-PST-1SG

d'ū-**wa**      d'ū:ta:-ø-m      EVN  
house-**ACC**      rent.a.house-AOR-1SG

I rented the house



# Binary DOM strategy in DLG, YKT and EVN

## Specific indefinite

[Context: “Where do you usually stay traveling?”]

(12) *dīē-ni*                      *ulars-a:čči-bin* / *kūortamna:-čči-bin*                      DLG, YKT  
house-**ACC**                      lend-**HAB**-1SG / rent-**HAB**-1SG

*d’u-ja*                                      *d’u:ta:-ŋnə-ø-m*                                      EVN  
house-**ACCIN/PART**                      rent.a.house-**HAB**-AOR-1SG

I will rent a house

# Binary DOM strategy in DLG, YKT and EVN

## Non-specific indefinite

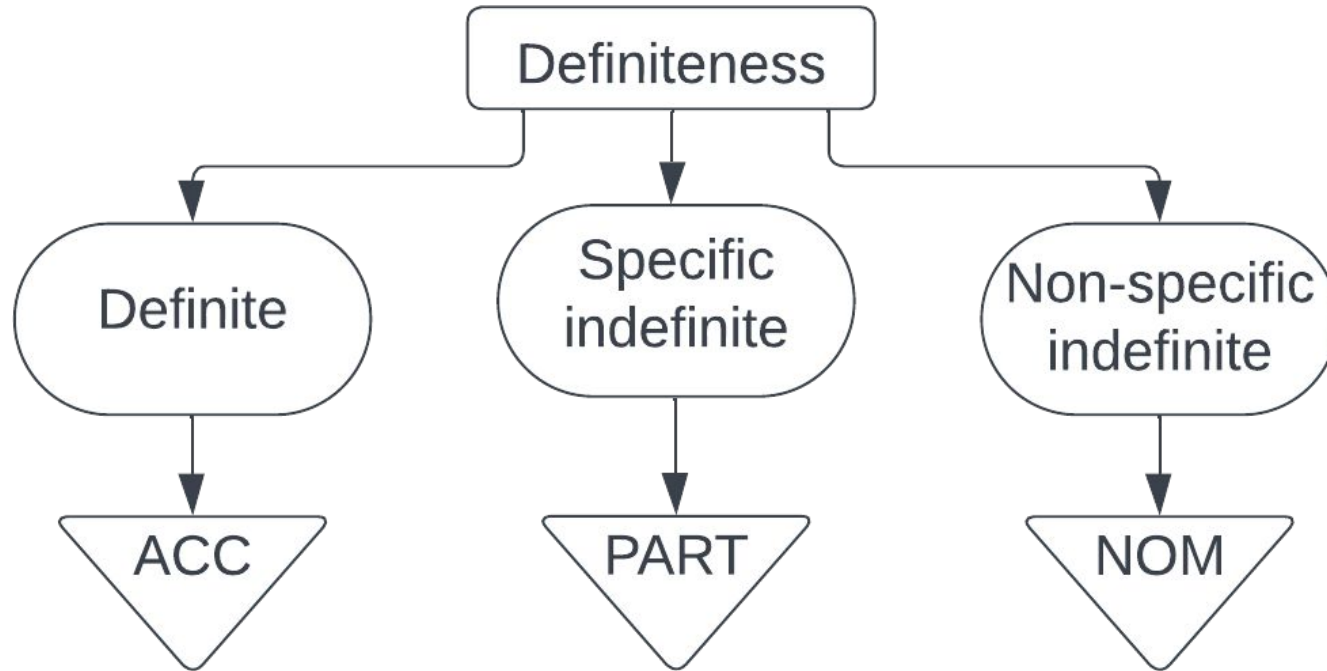
[Context: “Where do you live?”]

(13)  $d\bar{i}\bar{e}$                        $ulars-a-bin$                       /                       $k\bar{u}\bar{o}rtamn-i:-bin$                       DLG, YKT  
house.**NOM**                      lend-PRS-1SG                      /                      rent-PRS-1SG

$d\bar{u}-ja$                                        $d\bar{u}:ta:-d\bar{a}-\emptyset-m$                                       EVN  
house-**ACCIN/PART**                      rent.a.house-IPFV-AOR-1SG

I rent a house

# Ternary strategy in DLG and YKT



# Ternary strategy in DLG and YKT

## Definite

[Context: “This house is a great fit for him.”]

- (14) *dīē-ni*            *ulars-īāk-ta:k* / *kūortamn-īāk-ta:k*            DLG, YKT  
house-**ACC**    lend-FUT-**NEC.3SG** / rent-FUT-**NEC.3SG**
- đu-wa*            *đu:ta:-ŋāti-n*            EVN  
house-**ACC**    rent.a.house-**PREDEST-3SG**

He **has to** rent **the** house

# Ternary strategy in DLG and YKT

## Specific indefinite

[Context: “I have a big family. I need more space.”]

(15) <i>dīete</i>	<i>ulars-īa-m</i>		DLG
house- <b>PART</b>	lend- <b>FUT</b> -1SG		
<i>dīe</i>	<i>kūortamn-īa-m</i>		YKT
house. <b>NOM</b>	rent- <b>FUT</b> -1SG		
<i>dū-wa</i>	<i>dū:ta:-d'anjā-m</i>		EVN
house- <b>ACCIN/PART</b>	rent.a.house- <b>FUT</b> -1SG		
I <b>will</b> rent <b>a</b> house			

# Ternary strategy in DLG and YKT

## Non-specific indefinite

[Context: “Buying a house is too expensive.”]

(16) dīē                      ularis-tin              /      kũortamna:-tin                      DLG, YKT  
house.**NOM**              lend-**IMP3SG** / rent-**IMP3SG**

d’u-ja                      d’u:ta:-yin                      EVN  
house-**ACCIN/PART**      rent.a.house-**IMP3SG**

**Better** he rents **a** house

# Key takeaways

- **EVN** has a **binary** DOM system based on object level semantics.
- **DLG** and **YKT** use **both binary** and **ternary** strategies. The choice between them is based on clause level semantics, while the choice of marking case within these strategies is based on object specificity.
- The ternary strategy in **YKT** is implemented in Imperatives and Potential-Admotive. In **DLG** it has a wider use in Future, Imperatives, Conditional, Capacitive, Necessitative, Desiderative.
- This is regarded as a stronger influence of EVN on DLG than on YKT.
- In DLG and YKT partitive has no possessive endings and benefactive function, unlike in EVN.
- EVN has a more extensive inventory for possessive forms: ACC.PS, ACC.RFL.PS, PART.PS, PART-RFL.PS, comparing with DLG and YKT – ACC.PS.

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